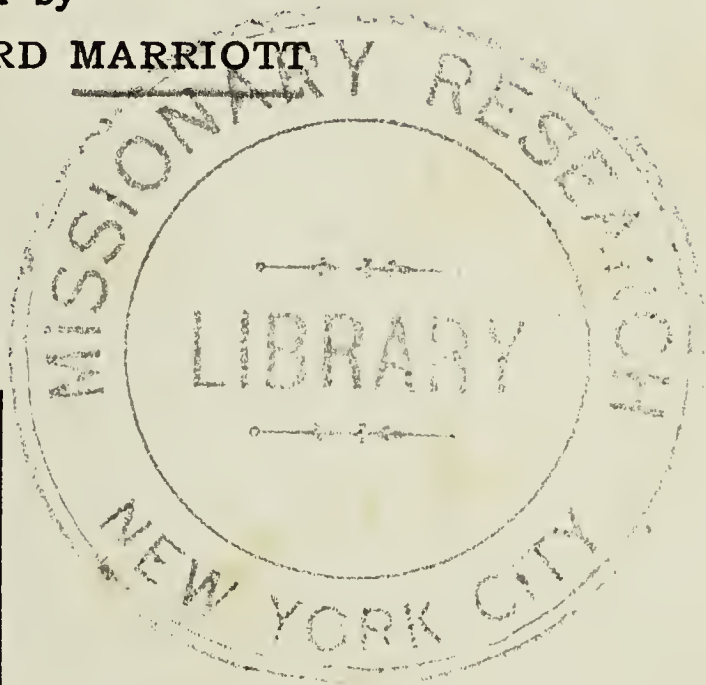


2m  
3109  
Kagawa  
343

# KAGAWA AND COOPERATIVES

Edited by  
VICTOR EDWARD MARRIOTT



Published by  
THE KINGDOM OF GOD FELLOWSHIP  
19 South La Salle Street  
Chicago, Illinois

1936

# Introduction

●

Through years of study and experience, I finally became convinced that the key to the problem of distribution in a power production age lay in the cooperative economic organization of society. I had resigned from business and was in the midst of preparing myself for activity in the Cooperative Movement when a friend called my attention to an article in *The Christian Century* and excitedly said, "Look! Kagawa advocates Cooperatives!"

I then read these simple words in his review of *Rethinking Missions*, "This book has no vision of the Christianizing of the economics of the Oriental countries. We believe that the ideal of Christian love can be realized in the economic realm only through Cooperatives." Later I found other of his writings and addresses even more specifically advocating the organization of the various types of Cooperatives as the economic means of realizing the principles of the Kingdom of God on this earth.

It is my hope that this booklet will stimulate many more in America to become active, as Kagawa has done, and both advocate and apply the principles of brotherhood through the organizing of Marketing, Purchasing, Production, Finance and all other forms of Cooperatives.

E. R. BOWEN, General Secretary,  
THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE,

●

Single copies 10 cents. Special prices in quantities. Order from The Cooperative League, 167 W. 12th St., New York City



# Kagawa and Cooperatives

## I. Kagawa and Human Brotherhood

Human brotherhood has one of its greatest advocates in Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan. Only a few men in each generation rise to the level of loving the whole human race. Kagawa is one of these. Many times he has asserted, "I myself love China as I love Japan." All through the recent period when Japan has been carrying on her aggression against China, Kagawa has maintained cordial relationship with Chinese Christians. But his love for his fellowmen is not limited to members of the yellow race. In the introduction to the Chinese translation of his book, "Love the Law of Life" he writes, "There is no other way than by the Law of Love. And not only in the relations between China and Japan, if we hope for a progressive uniting of all the cultures of the nations and races of the whole world, there is no other way than through the principle of redemptive love. The law of redemptive love is the fundamental law of the universe." With Terrence, he could say "Nothing human is foreign to me."

This love of mankind is no mere theory with Kagawa. It grows up out of his own life and is of the very fibre of his being. His own experience has taught him sympathy with men and women who toil and suffer; even those who are considered the dregs of society. He himself has known suffering, shame, hunger, imprisonment, battle with disease. In his own birth, he was made to know the shame of humanity. He was an illegitimate child, son of a concubine. His father was a man of nobility, a member of the Privy Council of the Emperor. Kagawa says of him, "My father was a pious man as piety goes in Japan but his morals were impossible." He has revealed something of the deeper motivation of his life by what he says of his mother, "The public prostitutes and geisha girls who were bartered for gold and robbed of their freedom were in stark reality slaves. My own mother was a servile geisha girl. Her lot and life led me to dedicate myself to the work

---

*(All the quotations and most of the substance of this section is taken from two addresses of Miss Helen Topping, English secretary to Dr. Kagawa. One address was delivered August 31, 1934, at the Methodist Youth Council in Evanston, Illinois, and the other on November 11, 1934, at the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation Annual Meeting.)*

of emancipating these pitiful women and the lower classes which produce them."

When Toyohiko was about four years old both his father and his geisha mother died and he and his sister were sent to the ancestral home in Awa to be brought up by his father's legal wife. Here they were unwelcome guests and Toyohiko especially was cruelly treated during his early years. Miss Helen Topping says, "Kagawa was a kind of *Oliver Twist* only perhaps more so. He had about as unhappy a childhood as could be imagined." But out of this untoward beginning and unhappy childhood has come the rare soul that captivates the world. He himself says his life is a miracle. And well he may, for his character and accomplishment seem to defy all the laws of heredity and environment.

### Individual Work

The facts of his life may be stated briefly. While still a boy in his teens he went to live with his uncle in the City of Tokushima. Here he met some American missionaries and through them came to accept Christianity. This meant the loss of all material support, for his uncle cast him off when he took this step. He managed to earn his way. He entered college but was obliged to quit for a time because of the onset of that dread disease, tuberculosis. He won out in this battle, although all through his life he has had to fight against ill-health. At twenty-one he went to live in the Shingawa slums in Kobe, in a little hut, six by six. And here he gave himself without stint to the poor people of this, one of the worst slums in the world. Vicious people thronged about him. With them, he shared his food and his sleeping-hut. From one beggar he took in, he caught trachoma and very nearly lost the sight of one eye. One ruffian struck him in the face and knocked out four of his teeth. Never in any emergency did he call upon the police. Although driven out at times, he always returned to try to save these men and women whom he looked upon as God's children who were victims of circumstances—circumstances created by the greed and selfishness of the so-called upper classes. While living in the slums he was all the while studying the slums and its causes. He wrote a book on the *Psychology of Poverty*. So well did he know the life of the poor and the slum sections of the city that the government of Japan later was glad to call upon Kagawa for assistance and advice at critical junctures. Largely because of the revelations he made in regard to these festering sores in the great cities of Japan, the government was led to demolish and rebuild the worst slum areas in six of the largest cities of the Empire.



## Organization Work

For about five years he worked alone in the slums. He then came to the conclusion that "One individual working for individuals cannot change society." He decided to leave the slums for a time. A way opened for him to come to America. He was in this country about two years, studying at Princeton University and observing much about labor organizations and social settlements.

**Labor**—When he returned to Japan, he went back to the Shingawa slums but this time with a somewhat different technique. "Organization" was the word he had learned in America. So this time, he started to organize social movements. "For the next five years the period of 1916 to 1921, he organized the Japanese Federation of Labor. Then from 1921 to 1923 he organized a corresponding movement among the farmers—the Farmers' Union—all over Japan."

**Social**—Later he was called upon to organize the social work in the City of Tokyo. The mayor of Tokyo offered him a salary of \$9,000 and an automobile for his own use if he would become the head of the Bureau of Social Welfare of Tokyo. He accepted the job but refused the salary and the automobile. For over one year he spent ten days of each month at the City Hall and completely reorganized the Bureau.

**Political**—There was also a political phase of his organizing work. He helped the laborers and farmers form a united bloc to seek universal manhood suffrage. This fight was won in 1925. He has continued his work to elect Christians and labor-farm candidates to the Diet. His closest associate, Sugiyama, is leader of the farm bloc. But political action cannot be considered as Kagawa's chief aim.

**Cooperatives**—It is into other channels than political that Kagawa is "pouring his reddest blood." Those channels are the Kingdom of God Movement among the churches and cooperatives, although in the case of Kagawa, you cannot separate the two,—for his religion merges with his economics and his economics with his religion. He does not have the faculty that many in America have in keeping these two things in separate, water-tight compartments.

Kagawa has espoused the Cooperative Movement as the instrument for bringing the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. What success he has had may be judged by the following facts. The movement had its beginning in Japan in about the year 1900 and now embraces in its membership a third of the population.

There are to date about twenty-five million members. The Cooperative magazine is the largest cooperative magazine in the world. It is nearing the one million mark in circulation and for each subscriber you can reckon about twelve readers. All over the rural districts the farmer families meet informally in the evening for recreation and the reading of this paper. Kagawa's novel on cooperatives is appearing as a serial story in its pages and helps to swell its circulation. The building up of the circulation of this magazine is one of the goals in the five-year expansion program of the Cooperative Movement in Japan, which is making its goals year by year, since it started in January, 1933.

Kagawa did not start the Cooperative movement and he is not solely responsible for its growth. The Japanese government has aided cooperatives to a certain extent. But it is admitted by all that it is his enthusiasm and organizing ability that has made the movement outstanding. He has given great attention to training an ethical leadership for the cooperatives. He insists that the Cooperative movement must be based on Christian character. The various means he is using are:

- (1) Rural schools modelled somewhat after the Danish folk-schools.
- (2) Recruiting leaders from five big universities in Tokyo. Kagawa is telling the university students that no graduate ever need be out of a job. Let him organize and run a cooperative.
- (3) He says the same to the clergy. He would like to reorganize the theological seminaries so as to include instruction in cooperation as part of a minister's preparation.
- (4) Kagawa is trying to educate doctors and nurses to come into the movement. In the last three years Medical Cooperative Hospitals to the number of 140 have been started.
- (5) The social workers of Japan. The governors gather them for annual institutes and in many of them give Kagawa a whole day to talk on cooperatives. He points out to these social workers that all charity, philanthropy and relief will eventually be taken care of by the surpluses of a fully organized producer-consumer economy.
- (6) He is educating the masses through his books, his speeches and his articles in the papers.



## II. The Economic Life and Cooperative Love

(Extracts from "Christ and Japan" by Toyohiko Kagawa. Published by Friendship Press, New York. Copyrighted. Used with permission.)

Materialistic communism is utterly unable to cure our economic ills. If the economic life were fundamentally materialistic, its problem might be solved in a materialistic way. But, in the last analysis, the economic life is a movement in the realm of values. We think of it as related primarily to the physical needs of our existence and as largely material. As, however, Ruskin insists in his "Stones of Venice," there is the background of the materialistic appearance of this simplest form of economic life a high spiritual element. It has other phases that touch man's conscious moral and ethical life. Materialistic economics goes over into the realms of psychological economics, and this in turn develops into the realm of techniques and the professions.

The reason that materialistic communism is so cocksure that it possesses the key for the solution of present-day problems is because, thus far, it is functioning only within the physical stage of the economic life. In such a country as Russia, where urban life is undeveloped, there is a real possibility for materialistic communism to secure a foothold. However, in a country like America, or England, where more than half the population is crowded into urban centers, the economic life is not materialistic but psychological and technical, and it is difficult to control it from without.

The only way out is a conscious uniting of forces and a cohesion without coercion, such as characterize the cooperative movement and the placing of production, marketing, purchasing and finance on a non-exploitative basis. Then, and then only, can both the individual and society be given a fuller, finer life.

The fatal error of mechanistic capitalism is that it fails to recognize the place of personality in the development of the psychological and technical economic life, and centers its plans wholly on a materialistic plane. Not only so, it insists on evaluating this occupational, economic life, which has developed along psychological lines, only on an exchange-value basis. This enables speculators and the privileged minority to capture both capital and machinery and to trample upon those inalienable rights of the masses to a chance to labor, a chance to live and a chance to develop their personalities. We are therefore challenged to conserve these rights of the common people through the organization of various Christian cooperatives which make redemptive love basic. This Cooperative movement, rooted as it is in love and brotherhood, is unquestionably an out-and-out Christian movement.



## Christ's Gospel and the Social Gospel

It goes without saying that such a social and economic movement as this is not the whole of Christianity. God's love is revealed not only in the social order but in the life of every individual. The love of God ministers to the individual intellect. It ministers to man's emotions as in religious art. It ministers to the will of the individual in such virtues as self-control, temperance, courage, diligence, forbearance, love, loyalty and the realization of his highest self. Moreover, it gives an assurance of the immortality of the soul and furnishes for the individual various metaphysical and mystical experiences. I reject none of these individual elements.

I simply insist that these strictly individual experiences of God's grace are not enough. The social life of our day is more complex than any aggregation of individuals. As the correlated activity of five fingers is greater by far and more fundamental than the aggregate activity of each individual finger, so it is not enough to save only the individual and set up no principles for the social order. Unlike Buddhism, the religion of Jesus teaches not only grace for the individual; it also postulates the Kingdom of God. Christ revealed not only the God of creative but of redemptive love.

Christ is able to save not only the individual but society as well. How then can society be saved? By actually realizing, through the development of the cooperative movement, the brotherhood-love and the socialized-love which Christianity in various forms conserved across a period of nineteen hundred years. Then, if we utilize on an international scale, and in the interests of world peace, the benefits derived from such cooperative effort, war will be definitely eliminated from the life of mankind.

### Cooperatives and Christianity

As long as a mechanized civilization and capitalism did not oppress the urban laborers and the farming folk, an individualized gospel was abundantly able to meet the needs of the Japanese people. Now, however, that the workers of both the cities and the farms are suffering from the oppression of the machine and capital, they are no longer satisfied with a purely individual gospel.

The same is true in the West. East and West the proletarian class, forgetting that even the machine is a product of the human intellect, and that capital is the product of the system of social values, is madly endeavoring to right the present maladjustments through materialistic measures. The upshot of it all is that the proletarian revolutionary movement will continue until knowledge becomes dominated by love, and the



system of values in the social order becomes subservient to the law of love.

In the meantime, this materialistic movement will, through its destructiveness, continue to impoverish society. In the last analysis, the fundamental principle in reconstructing society is not a class consciousness, which is confined to certain groups and works in compartments, but a sense of social solidarity grounded in a consciousness of redemptive love. Only through this can thoroughgoing and abiding social welfare be realized. With this as the goal, I pray and plead and toil.

Japan's experience will become America's experience. Impelled by the prevailing poverty the cooperative movement has made significant progress in this land. America, because of her wealth, has felt no incentive to further the development of this movement. Consequently the economic crisis in America, since 1930, has been tragic in the havoc it has wrought. England's working classes have long had consumers' cooperatives.

Countries in which cooperatives flourish are not harassed by the Leftist movement. Denmark is a shining example of this. Politically, Russia is communistic, but is it not a fact that her economic system is built on the cooperative basis? However, no matter what form cooperatives may take, unless they are motivated by the redemptive love of Christ there is little hope of their success. This is of prime importance. Unless present-day Christendom awakens to the vital importance of developing this Cooperative movement it can never save the world.

### Christ's Love and World-Wide Cooperatives

What a boon it would be if redemptive love could have free course to do its full and perfect work! Then denominations would turn from minor religious issues. The churches would correlate their forces and unite in setting in motion a brotherhood movement which would express itself through cooperatives for producers, marketing, finance and purchasing. Where profits accrue, they could be utilized in providing life, accident and unemployment insurance and in organizing mutual aid and medical cooperatives. If the profits make it possible, even educational cooperatives could be organized. Moreover, if world missions would organize Christian cooperatives clear across the mission fields and actually realize redemptive love in cooperative living, where would materialistic communism have a ghost of a chance?

*Personally, I am pouring my prayers and the reddest blood of my life into the work of carrying forward this quiet, undramatic, economic reformation. Oh God, make haste! Teach the world's Christians the cooperative way. Set thy people in every land to the task of creating cooperatives in which thy redeeming love shall find full and free expression and realization in our day.*

### III. The Practice of the Cooperatives

(This section aims to give a little comparison of the practice of the cooperatives in Japan with the practice of cooperatives in this country. The material is drawn from an address by Toyohiko Kagawa on "The Cooperative Movement in Japan" given at the Oriental Culture Summer College, Karuizawa, on August 17, 1933.)

Kagawa recognizes seven kinds of Cooperatives and is laboring to establish all seven kinds, since he feels that these seven cover all fields of human economic interests. The seven kinds are: Producers, Consumers, Credit, Marketing, Utilities, Insurance and Mutual Aid. He says, "If we could have the seven kinds of cooperatives—we then would have no competitive and profiteering economic motives, we could have a good state. Thus we could get rid of the communist movement for violent revolution." (Kagawa in the Philippines—Friends of Jesus Publication.)

As a somewhat different terminology for Cooperatives prevails in America, it may be well to compare the set-up in the two countries, using the American phraseology as the basis for comparison.

(1) Producers. Kagawa lays great emphasis on producers cooperatives in Japan, more emphasis than American leaders are apt to give this branch of cooperative effort. Producers cooperatives are of insignificance as far as the United States is concerned. In Japan the producers cooperatives are largely in the field of Land Producers and Fishing Cooperatives. Kagawa lists several instances of these types in the address referred to above. About the only similar instances on this continent are the lobster factories run by the Cooperatives in Nova Scotia.

(2) Marketing cooperatives. This is the phase which is most extensively developed in America, including such commodities as fruits, cotton, grain, live-stock, milk and tobacco. The two major commodities handled by marketing cooperatives in Japan are silk and rice.

(3) Consumers' cooperatives. In this country the name cooperative purchasing is quite generally used particularly among farm groups, and includes such functions as supplies (foods and goods) services (medical and recreational) and insurances of various types such as life, auto, fire, etc. Here would be included two of the seven kinds included in Kagawa's list, Consumers, and Insurance. In Japan the greatest development is in the purchasing of fertilizer, heavy oil and medical services. In the United States, the largest consumers cooperatives are in the purchasing of gas and oil and of feed and fertilizer among farmers.



(4) Credit Cooperatives which take care of the banking functions. Kagawa states that fifteen out of the first twenty-one cooperatives in Japan were of this type. He says, "Now there was no difficulty in organizing the Credit Cooperatives in Japan, for even the shop-keepers like that type of cooperatives. Up to 1918 the chief number of cooperatives in Japan were of this kind, and at present over a billion yen annually goes through the Credit Cooperatives of Japan. This system of Credit Cooperatives is one of the largest component parts of our Japanese system." Likewise it is one of the largest developments in the United States.

There are two other types of Cooperatives mentioned in Kagawa's list not ordinarily included in the American classification: Mutual Aid and Utilities.

In the United States, the functions of the Japanese Mutual Aid Cooperatives are handled to a certain extent by the Fraternal Societies and the Labor Unions. What Kagawa includes under Utilities is the objective of the Public Ownership movement in the United States. Although there is cooperation between the Public Ownership and the Cooperative Movements, they are independent organizations in this country.

Kagawa states that the cooperative movement in Japan was started at the turn of the century (1900) by Tasuke Hirata, then Minister of Home Affairs. He points out, however, that these governmentally fostered Cooperatives lacked idealism and the philosophy for social reconstruction.

An editorial in the issue of the Christian Graphic for February, 1935, under the title "Manumitting Missions" contains this interesting summary and comment. "Statistics of 1933 show 14,651 cooperative societies in Japan with 5,247,541 members. Their total capital invested in cooperatives is 1,838,511,469 yen. These local cooperatives are nearly all affiliated with the Central Cooperative Union. Their combined circulating capital for 1933 exceeded three billion yen. The most active units were the credit cooperatives, whose paid in deposits for the year were over one billion, seven hundred million yen. The usual rate of interest which they pay is 4.5 to 6 per cent. The whole series of enterprises head up in the Central Cooperative Bank with thirty millions in capital and eighty millions in deposits. The Japanese Government is a share holder and as with these other enterprises, thoroughly scrutinizes its activities and safety. The cooperatives issue a magazine, "The Light of the Home," to which Toyohiko Kagawa is a leading contributor. It has a circulation of 850,000—the highest bona fide circulation in Japan.

These enterprises sponsored by Kagawa exemplify the ideals

of Jesus. \* \* \* The glaring contrast to Capitalist undertakings appears the moment one compares the banking activities. These have no funds to lend to munition makers, to brothels, nor to other exploiters of their fellow-men. What is lent is every particle to help forward enterprises that exist solely for mutual service. If loaned to individuals to help them in personal emergency it is at a minimum interest thereby saving them from the clutches of the loan sharks."

## **Song of the Japanese Cooperatives**

Even wood-cutters in far-away mountains,  
Or fishermen toiling on a lonely beach,  
Hear the bell ringing in a happy new era,  
Saying "Each for all, and all for each!"  
See! floating high in the morning breeze  
Fragrant cherry, symbol of our cooperation,  
Young and old, one and all, clasped hand in hand,  
Let's follow it loyally, as we march on.  
Turbulent may be the sea of unrest.  
But firm our bond of mutual help shall stand.  
Let the chain of love encircle all the earth.  
By and by we'll build on it a Utopian land.

## **OUTSTANDING KAGAWA DECLARATIONS ABOUT THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT**

"Becoming a Christian means organizing a Cooperative."

"Go home and tell America to organize Cooperatives."

"Cooperatives are the economic foundation of world peace."

"I want to practice Christianity in the Cooperative Movement."

"Cooperation is Christianity in action."

"What does America need most? Cooperation instead of competition."

"Cooperation is the love principle applied to industry."

"I firmly believe the cooperative movement is the only way to international peace."



#### IV. Extracts from Kagawa's Addresses and Articles About Cooperation

(The following quotations are taken from "The Economic Foundations of Peace," Friends of Jesus Library No. 2.)

"In 2 Cor. 8:14-15, Paul gives the basis of human equality. It is that everyone has one stomach. \* \* \* If the Christian Church and individual Christians had been kind enough to really help the poor, the materialistic communism of Karl Marx would probably have never prevailed either in Russia or elsewhere. \* \* \* From the beginning of the work of St. Paul down to the Twentieth Century there are continually recurring traces of the Brotherhood Movement in the Christian churches. But as yet, unfortunately, we have forgotten to preach it in Japan, in China, and in some parts of America. We need to revive this Brotherhood Movement. How? \* \* \* By organizing good Cooperatives, we can get rid of the four characteristic problems of economics which Marx has so well described to us: (1) we can get rid of surplus value from exploitation; (2) there will be no accumulation of capital; (3) and no concentration of capital; (4) class struggle will disappear. \* \* \* When it (a cooperative) is once organized it is easy to run, but to get the propaganda done, to secure the trust of the people is at first very difficult. It takes about six months for this preliminary work. \* \* \* I have organized about twelve Cooperatives—including five Consumers' Cooperatives for students: and besides one Credit Pawn Shop in Tokyo: \* \* \* one Consumers' Cooperative for laborers in Kobe, and one in Osaka. And I have helped to organize a good many rural Producers Cooperatives. \* \* \* At the end of eight months' study, our chief impression is that we have as yet hardly touched the fringes of the subject of the Cooperatives. \* \* \* Beginning in April, 1931, one of the theological seminaries in Japan connected with a large Christian university, is setting out to produce social engineers for the cooperative movement. I have been asked to be one of the professors to train cooperative organizers. Thus within three years, from among the graduates of this seminary, we shall be able to select those who are most suitable to be organizers of the cooperatives. We must train workers for this movement. \* \* \* In the course on Village Sociology we teach how to organize village cooperatives. \* \* \* Some pastors will teach Bible, some the Brotherhood Movement, some Village Sociology, some Agricultural Science and some the Cooperative Movements. \* \* \* Such education is distinctly the responsibility of the Christian church. The government, with merely secular motivation, cannot produce good Cooperative organizers. If you trust to the government alone you will never get good Cooperatives. \* \* \* If the Church will employ this Movement, it will find it the best fortress from which to get into the hearts of the people. \* \* \* The Labor Movement mocked at this Cooperative Movement when it was in its beginnings. Labor unions' leaders thought it foolish, and that it paralyzed the socialist movement. The Cooperative Movement does seem weak in the beginning, but gradually it becomes such a power that no one can ignore it. \* \* \* The Brotherhood Movement, one of the greatest and most characteristic manifestations of early Christianity, has left the Church in modern times, and established itself in secret societies, in labor unions, and in the many variations of the Cooperative Movement. \* \* \* If missionaries will help the Chinese organize Cooperative Societies (to dig out those canals) they can help save China. \* \* \* What the missionaries need to do now in Africa is to start the Cooperative system. \* \* \* We must have a Love Movement, or



economic cooperation. The coldness we find at present in the Churches is because we are separated from one another. If the spirit of cooperation flames up in the Church, and comrades come together and start Cooperatives, the coldness will disappear and Pentecost come again. \* \* \* The way to stop war is by Cooperative Movements—by Cooperative International Trade. \* \* \* Between Denmark and England they have a wonderful scheme of international trade. If we can have that kind of cooperative scheme, probably the next war will be postponed eternally. And if we Christians do not move toward the cooperative idea our Christian movement is a very abstract movement. We believe in the Incarnation,—that the Spirit of God took human flesh; and we must have the Spirit of God incarnated into economic schemes and projects. I believe that only through Christian idealism will the Cooperative Movement come unto its own. \* \* \* We Christians have a most wonderful system of love—why do we not apply it to practical things. \* \* \* We must practice this cooperative love more than we preach.”

(The following quotations are from “Kagawa in the Philippines,” Friends of Jesus Library No. 4.)

“Machines and capitalism rule over the human race. Unless we can get hold of some power to rule over machines and capitalism, we are doomed. Therefore we need a cooperative method of democracy, that is, industrial democracy. That term must be given a certain content. Cooperative associations are necessary to meet the crisis. \* \* \* We need seven kinds of Cooperatives: Producers, Consumers, Credit, Insurance, Marketing, Utility, and Mutual Aid. \* \* \* We need a new state rather than the present ‘democracy.’ It is necessary to have the Cooperatives as the basis of national politics. The same is true in the case of international politics. Even here it is necessary to have the Cooperatives trade as their basis. \* \* \* It is necessary to have a League of Nations based on Cooperative trade. \* \* \* I want to propose to you that the way of prosperity, the ideal life in the ideal state, is the Cooperative management of rural life. \* \* \* We must have international economic morality. What is the foundation for the new international economic morality? It is the Cooperative Movement. \* \* \* With the Cooperative Movement we shall be able to have individual liberty and a sort of private ownership, reconciled with the public welfare and public ownership. Communism has blotted out private ownership. Under Communism they lose freedom of thinking, freedom of owning, freedom of religion. They have bureaucracy and dictatorship. If we have the Cooperative Movement in the nation we have peace. \* \* \* Though President Roosevelt in America is trying many methods, probably he won’t succeed. It is necessary to have Cooperatives. This is the best means of getting individuals gradually ready to have altruistic economic projects, not from above, but emerging from inward moral consciousness. It is absolutely necessary. Where people are not conscious we can use the iron hand, but people awaken from the inside out. We must be kind, and use their growing consciousness to be stabilized in social solidarity. We need a real Cooperative Movement. \* \* \* We must have a world vision based on politics, but politics sometimes emphasizes power too much, so we must have a wider vision, and take the (Cooperative) Economic Foundation for world peace. There is the real foundation. There shall we find real world peace.”



(From an article by Toyohiko Kagawa "Christians Are Dangerous," in The Christian, March 25, 1933.)

"Cooperatives based on Christian brotherhood principles will solve the whole problem. I want to practice Christianity in the cooperative movement. \* \* \* What we need in Japan is more real Christianity. By 'Real' Christianity, I mean Christianity carried out in action in the Cooperative Movement.

My work for peace is a long-term undertaking, including both the transformation of men's inner souls through the religion of Jesus Christ, and the changing of the economic system under which they must live from a competitive to a cooperative one. We must go to the roots of militarism and cure its causes, which lie in the realm of economics and religion.

Unless we have economic measures to produce peace, especially the cooperation between nations, there is little hope for permanent peace. Therefore what we need today is to teach the people how to **Christianize industry.**"

## THE ROCHDALE PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC BROTHERHOOD

The day will come when the 21st of December will be celebrated as the birth of economic brotherhood. For on that day 90 years ago, in 1844, were formulated the three basic principles of Consumers' Cooperation which has grown to be the largest democratic economic movement in the world, with over 100,000,000 members in over 40 countries. These basic principles of economic brotherhood which the Rochdale Pioneers adopted were:

First, they believed that economic brotherhood meant **liberty for all**. Accordingly they provided that membership should be open to all regardless of race or creed, that there should be no proxy voting and that each person should have only one vote irrespective of the amount of stock he owned.

Second, they believed that economic brotherhood meant **security for all**. Accordingly they provided that capital was to be hired at the current rate of interest and was not to receive any profits.

Third, they believed that economic brotherhood meant **justice for all**. Accordingly they provided that the profits were to be paid back to the people in proportion to their purchases and thus prevent profit-piling in the hands of the few.

These three Rochdale principles of economic brotherhood form the foundation for plenty, peace and happiness for everyone everywhere.

# SELECTED LITERATURE ON CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

## PAMPHLETS

<b>The Discovery of the Consumer, Mrs. Sidney Webb (1928) . . . . .</b>	<b>\$ .10</b>
Written after 40 years of study by the one who first clearly "Discovered the Consumer".	
<b>America's Answer—Consumers' Cooperation, E. R. Bowen . . . . .</b>	<b>.10</b>
A comprehensive, condensed summary of the Consumers' Co- operative Movement. A challenge and a call to action.	
<b>Cooperation Here and Abroad, Hugh J. Hughes . . . . .</b>	<b>.10</b>
A general story written by a former farm paper editor and Minnesota State Director of Markets.	
<b>A Short Introduction to Consumers' Cooperation, Ellis Cowling ..</b>	<b>.15</b>
The title well describes this pamphlet. For study groups as well as individuals.	
<b>How St. Francis Xavier University Educates for Action—A re- markable story of adult education issuing in action . . . . .</b>	<b>.20</b>
<b>Seeking A New World Through Cooperatives, Carl R. Hutchinson ..</b>	<b>.25</b>
Methodist Book Concern (1935) The author was a professor in the Chicago Theological Sem- inary and is now with the Ohio Farm Bureau Cooperative Associations.	

## BOOKS

<b>Cooperative Movement in Great Britain, Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb) (1891) . . . . .</b>	<b>1.10</b>
The first clear analysis of the significance and forms of con- sumers' cooperative ownership. Still standard.	
<b>John T. W. Mitchell, Percy Redfern (1924) . . . . .</b>	<b>1.00</b>
The biography of the great leader of the C. W. S. who forged out the philosophy of consumers' cooperative ownership. Every man and young man should read it as the story of the ideal business man.	
<b>The National Being, George W. Russell . . . . .</b>	<b>1.75</b>
Perhaps the most beautifully phrased combination of coopera- tive idealism and practical action ever written, by George W. Russell, better known as AE, the great poet-cooperator, formerly secretary of the Irish Agricultural Society.	
<b>Cooperation, Hall and Watkins (1934) . . . . .</b>	<b>3.00</b>
New textbook published by the Cooperative Union. A superior book for personal and school study of the Consumers' Co- operative Movement.	

## MAGAZINE

<b>Consumers' Cooperation, (Monthly) . . . . .per year</b>	<b>1.00</b>
The Official Magazine of the Consumers' Cooperative Purchas- ing Movement in the United States, with National and Interna- tional News.	

Order from  
**THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE**  
167 West 12th Street, New York City

